1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Upper Naivi (Naivi i Thake). The descendants of Ndranivia, however, live at the west end of the village, intermingled with Narewandamu. The reason is that a son of Ndranivia settled there and did the work of the clan of Narewandamu, his mother's clan; that is, he helped them at feasts and used their land. He had been adopted into Matailakemba; but seeing his father's clan empty by reason of the civil wars, he decided to raise it up again, so left Matailakemba, followed by Narewandamu. Katumbalevu proper are on the west side of the Green.

Usually a man "follows" his father's clan, but many men live with their mother's people, even though both clans may be in the same village, next to one another. If a man lives with his wife's people, the children follow the mother's clan. A man will also live with the clan into which he has been adopted, but may leave it to go back to his father's.

Marriage inside the clan, while not prohibited, is not usual. My records for the country villages show 14 internal marriages out of 123. For Levuka, none in 31 marriages is recorded. For Vakano, 3 internal marriages were noted. It is definitely stated that people of the same clan or household (*vuvale*) may marry. Formerly, several married couples might occupy one house, but now the Government insists that each married couple have a home.

A house and the people who live in it are called a *vuvale* (base of a house or perhaps a house chief). Now that there is only one married couple in each house the term includes several houses. The word *vuvale* was defined, the people who work together. Thus Vunisavisavi and Yangasa were reckoned as one *vuvale*: they shared their kitchen. My informant did not include himself in his father's household. Isoa of Vunisavisavi and Kelepi of Yangasa are first cousins according to European reckoning, brothers according to theirs. Joshua, his brother Isoa, and his brother's son Naua, who have each his own house, are reckoned as one household. Members of one household have only one Sunday oven tog[illegible]. Formerly *vuvale* were important, but now that each man has his ow[illegible]e they appear to be overlooked.

Strangers are called *vulangi* (*vu*, base; *langi*, sky, horizon). Strangers living with nobles (*turanga*) are known as their *i solosolo* (meaning not clear; *solo* means to rub). The Government allows a share in all rents to a personage entitled *turanga ni nggali* (chief of the tribe), but all witnesses are unanimous that there is no such thing in Lau. Formerly there was one "owning chief" (*turanga i taukei*) in each clan, distinct from the chief of the clan (*turanga ni matanggali*). The chief of the clan directs the feast, the oven; the owning chief is the senior branch (*ulumatua*) and merely abides and rules the land. The Lord of Naiau is owning chief in

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right is a burden (*ka ni onga*) because the nephew exercises his right recklessly (*vakasausa*) and to an excessive degree (*rui valata me sivia*).

The father of the boy who is a *vasu* to Naivi will make a feast called *vakatoka masi*, putting on the loin cloth for the people of Naivi. Much stuff is given to Naivi; then the boy has the right to *vasu*; otherwise he may not *vasu*.

Some *vasu* are spoken of as great *vasu*. A man may be *vasu* to the whole of Lau. Thus one Mbauan chief who was *vasu* to Lau was a great *vasu* because through his mother, the daughter of the second son of the second Sau, he had in him blood from Lakemba, Ono, Moala, Totoya, and Matuku. He was "a wide *vasu*, he covered the whole of Lau." If a great *vasu* came to Lakemba, he wore a train in front and one behind.

Another reason given was that he was *vasu itaukei* (possessor, owner, native), which may be translated native *vasu* or home *vasu*. A man of Thekena defines a home *vasu* as "'a noble who is *vasu* to us, the owners of the land." He thus takes *itaukei* (owner) to refer to the "owners of the land," that is the Tumbou half of the village. The same informant adds that this Mbauan chief was home *vasu* because he was *vasu* to Thekena, who were noble (because of his father's mother). The view that the home *vasu* is a nobleman who is *vasu* to the people of the land, that is to the heralds or the Tumbou half, is borne out by six of the seven cases which I have noted: Soroanggali, mother from Narewandamu or Thekena; Vuetasau, mother of Tanggalevu, Roko Dhovu, mother doubtful; Tione Wesile, mother of Waitambu, which is subject to Thekena; Uluilakemba I, mother from Thekena; Uluilakemba II, on account of his father Vuetasau.

Of old the home *vasu* alone was important in Lau. The *vasu* to Mbau and the *vasu* to Thakaundrove had no other title, and were treated almost as strangers for they had little prestige. Nowadays the office of home *vasu* bears less weight, and that of the *vasu* to Mbau is important only on account of the Government. Formerly only the home *vasu* was a great nobleman. That is why Soroanggali said to his younger brother Taliai, who was *vasu* to Totoya, "Be you chief that I may look after you." He himself had quite enough power without the chieftainship.

A man will often speak of himself as belonging to his mother's land. That does not mean that he does not belong to his father's country, but merely that he is at home in his mother's country.

The verb *osi* (to foster, bring up, adopt) is a term of very wide meaning. Children are not adopted in the European sense, for they continue to be considered the children of their father and mother, and relationships remain unaltered. Thus, a boy of my acquaintance did not become the brother of his adopted parents' son, but remained his sister's son (*vungo*). A small

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● 591 child brought up in another clan retains his original clan. One man belonged to Vatuwangga though his father was brought up in Naivi. Another of Naivi was brought up in Matailakemba, but all his sons are in Naivi; he in turn brought up his adopted father's children, Uluilakemba, Malani, Tuiketei, but they are all set down in Matailakemba. It is true that Tuimereke, the son of the ancestor of Vatuwangga, lives with Naivi and speaks of himself as belonging to Naivi, but he is really the head of Vatuwangga. A man of Koroithumu was brought up by the third Lord of Naiau and his descendants on that account belong to Vatuwangga, but they also belong to Koroithumu. Many children are fostered by their mother's people. A commoner could adopt the children of a nobleman. Tuimereke and Malani were both thus adopted.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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582 Marriage between the subclans within a clan are found in the pedigrees.
618 Of the total number of marriages recorded for any one clan, however, the number of such clan endogamous marriages is usually less than 25 percent. It is possible that in the past no clan endogamous marriages occurred, but some marriages, as recorded in the pedigrees, appear to be endogamous because of the recent fusion of two clans.

582 A study of island inbreeding based on clan pedigrees shows a positive cor-
134 relation between inbreeding and infertility of the soil. The study shows that the highest percentage of intra-island marriages occurs on Fulanga, next highest on Ongea, then Kambara, Mothe, and Namuka. On the infertile southern islands, a lower percentage of individuals marry spouses from other islands than on the more fertile northern ones.

DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

591 Patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent are the rule in Lau, but there
611 are exceptions. A man may establish residence and affiliation with his wife's clan, for example, to prevent the extinction of a clan when the only living members are female. On Ongea the last surviving member of the Nggalileka clan, a woman, married Vesa of the Mata clan. Vesa and his family occupy the only house on the Nggalileka village land and control the clan's garden land. His children belong to Nggalileka, his wife's clan, but Vesa still belongs theoretically to Mata although he functions as the headman of Nggalileka.

Matrilocal residence and frequently matrilineal descent are used also to improve a man's economic status. Occasionally a man moves in with his wife's clan when it offers the young couple richer garden land than could be obtained from his own clan. For instance, Kolinio, a younger brother in the Vuanitavola clan, Tokalau, married Thiri of the Nakaka clan, Lomatchi. The Nakaka clan has a relatively large amount of the best garden land on Kambara, and the clan is rather small. Kolinio moved to Lomatchi where he used the garden lands of his wife's clan. Kolinio's children who are still young are considered members of the Vuanitavola clan in Tokalau, although in Lomatchi they function in the clan of their mother. Matrilocal residence is more common
[134] on fertile than on infertile islands, for there is a tendency for married couples who come from two different islands to establish residence on the more fertile island of the two.

Descent is in general correlated with residence. A man belongs to his father's clan unless his father has established his residence with and becomes a functional part of the clan of the man's mother. In this case the man usually functions with the clan of his mother until his marriage. Thereafter, if he returns with his wife to his father's clan and uses the clan lands, he and his children are considered members of his father's clan. If, on the other hand, he takes his wife to live with the clan of his mother he and his children are

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

usually considered members of his mother's clan. As a rule a woman belongs to the clan of her father although after marriage she lives and functions with her husband's clan.

ADOPTION

Widows (*ndauvi*), orphans (*luve ni yalo*, literally child of the ghost), and illegitimate children (*luve ni sala*, literally child of the path) are transferred from one clan to another by means of the adoption (*lakovi*) ceremony, a form of affinal exchange.

A widow usually returns to her own people. When her husband dies, her brother or a ranking member of her clan presents a whale's tooth or other property, by means of the usual presentation ceremony, to the clan of her husband with the request that the woman be allowed to return to her clan. This is called *lakovi*. If the property is accepted the widow is free to return. She usually takes at least some of her children with her. These children must also be formally transferred from the clan of their father to that of their mother, by means of the adoption ceremony. If both of a child's parents die, his mother's clan may adopt the child. Frequently, however, the father's clan retains the boys. A child adopted into his mother's clan still belongs theoretically to his father's clan, although he functions with that of his mother, for the adoption ceremony does not affect a man's clan membership, which is fixed by the rule of descent. It marks the transfer of an individual from one clan to another, and the clan losing a member is compensated for its loss by gifts of property from the clan receiving a member.

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

Children born out of wedlock are numerous in Lau. According to the natives, illegitimate children formerly had a definite status in the community and were not considered undesirable. They were usually reared in the clan of their mother under the guardianship of the maternal grandfather. Although theoretically they belonged to the clan of their father, they had to be formally adopted into it by means of the adoption ceremony in order to become active members. A child then enjoyed all the rights of full membership in his father's clan. He inherited a share in the clan lands, as did the legitimate sons, and exercised the rights of a *vasu* to his mother's people.

Since the coming of the missionaries, the attitude toward illegitimate children has changed. A child born out of wedlock is not allowed to be baptized in the mission church. He may be baptized, however, in the house where the mother lives. An unmarried, pregnant woman becomes the subject of village gossip, and members of the community who have been strongly influenced in their behavior patterns by the mission show their disapproval by ignoring the birth feast, to which the whole village is invited. An illegitimate child is still considered a member of his father's clan, but today he is not accepted to full membership in the clan and is not allowed to inherit clan land.